/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays.
439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Crosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wáča - bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasẽand-gnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

•433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving. This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez, but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship. Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

433 241 [233] [224]

a) Agriculture

243 191 114

The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most important cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large
• [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters,
[244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only
476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men.
464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one
[462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in
241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on
[515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection
417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see

p. 274/).

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mīš) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí·nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí·nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí·nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. ● [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyómp, the mountain spirit.

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atç," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotç," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua / /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, eš and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23) /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when
[731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/258 cont./

754 554 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path [182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 648 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

[433] [167] [466] The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emigration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

6: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

The Economy of the Paez

by

Segundo Bernal Villa

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 General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the daily activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

/297 cont./

161 outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
311 the settlement of Palmira (4).
361

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241 Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
● [433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/301 cont./

133 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to
241 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco,
361 San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kukimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

241
433 Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Maize	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
[illegible]	Oct.-Dec.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Potato	(paramo)		
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

/302 cont./

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433

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Arracacha	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous
Sweet potato	Any month	In 6 months	Continuous
Coca	March-April	In 1 year	Every 3 months
Onion	Any month	In 2 months	Continuous
Garlic	Feb.-April	In 4 months	Cut every 6-8 months
Cane	April-May	In 2 years	
Coffee	March-April	In 3 years	2 harvests per year

Manioc, arracacha, sweet potatoes, plantains, onions, and cabbages are harvested throughout the year and in any month.

/303/ Coffee is harvested during the months of October and November (principal harvest) and in May and June (mid-year harvest).

In Calderas (Tumbichukue, Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó), they harvest peaches chiefly during the months [439] of February and March. Although they consume this fruit, the major part is intended for sale.

In the parcialidades of temperate climate, they consume, though not systematically, the fruits: avocado, orange, guava, and star apple.

In the parcialidad of Mosoco and toward the first half of the year, they harvest potatoes, maize, frijoles, broad beans, barley, wheat, and ullucos. The harvest begins with frijoles and immediately continues with maize, broad beans, potatoes, wheat, and barley, ending with the harvest of ullucos, which is done in the month of August.

The harvests of potatoes, nasturtium tubers, and ullucos of the first half of the year are done with splendid results in the "paramo," a mountainous region that merges into the savannas of the Paramo de Moras. This area, conquered in

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/304 cont./

241 Aside from maize, a basic product of consumption in all
● 433 the parcialidades, some of them emphasize certain crops primarily intended for commercial purposes. Thus, Mosoco produces potatoes and garlic; San José, wheat; Vitoncó, wheat and peaches; Lame, wheat and laurel wax; Togoima, coca; and the others, coffee.

241 The months of the most intense labor in the temperate
433 zone correspond to the first five of the year, and especially to February and March, in order to take advantage of the sunny days during those months for the burning and the sowing, which in turn will benefit from the rains of April, May, and June. During this time, the reserves of the previous year's harvests are consumed, which, let it be said in passing, do not amount
[132] to much. Thus, the months of scarcity are June, July, and August, and those of relative abundance, October, November, and December; the former relatively dry and the latter with copious rainfall.

In Mosoco this schedule varies considerably, owing to the
[132] peculiar climate and the geographical position. The rains are constant in almost every month of the year; nevertheless, one can count on a few weeks of sunshine during the months of January and February. In the middle of the year, when the trade winds blow from the southeast, the winter is harsh. Thus, the months of intense labor are April, May, and June and coincide exactly with the harvesting of potatoes, wheat, and maize, and also those of November and December, for the planting of potatoes in the "paramo." March, April, and May, are months of plenty, and to some extent September and October as well. It would seem that there should not be any months of "hambruna" /extreme hunger/, but there are.

/305/ It is clear that the people of Mosoco work more and harder than the other natives; they actually harvest in almost every month of the year, but, like the others, they have months of "hambruna," which are September, October, and November, in spite of the fact that during these months they harvest potatoes and ullucos, but they call them such because they do not have
400 maize. The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale began more

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale /305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/306 cont./

241 indicate the size of their clearings, refer to the quantity of maize
433 planted, that is to say, four cuartillas (approximately two arrobas). Since each clearing does not produce more than one annual harvest, the Páez calculate the size of their property in terms of years. Thus, if asked how much land they own, they state that they have two, four, six, or ten years. Which is the same as saying that they have land where they can lay out two, four, six, or ten separate clearings. Thus, among the Páez, one year is not merely a measure of time, but also an agrarian measure.

241 The clearings are never made in the foothills covered with grass /pajonales/. They are laid out where thick brush or true forest is found. Seen from a distance, they look like open rectangles or squares in the midst of forest or brush. When they are laid out in virgin montaña, the work begins in October. But ordinarily it is during the months of December, January, and February that the natives are busy at this task. These are summer months, and furthermore there is food for consumption. The summer sun rapidly dries out the underbrush, and toward the end of February and through the month of March it is completely burned. When passing through Tierradentro at this time of year, one sees black patches everywhere. At the same time, all the grasses on the slopes are burned so that with the winter rains they will come back vigorously and serve as pasture for the animals.

Burning is the most widespread and most deep-rooted system of agriculture in Tierradentro. It is the most effective way to clear the lands full of vines, grass, brush, and trees, and, logically, the most economical. It combats all sorts of insects injurious to the plantings, and poisonous reptiles, which are not scarce. The ashes produced, when they are not carried away by the rushing waters, are a true corrective for the unquestionably acid soils. The burning of the grasses is essential, for aside from doing away with the dry straw, a veritable thicket that prevents the shoots from growing, it also does away with ticks. The tender shoots of the herbaceous plants make splendid fodder for the bovine, mule, and wool-bearing livestock. Unfortunately, these burnings are not done in a creative spirit, but
000 rather in a destructive one. Fire is also set to the vegetation on

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva- [412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the [256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on 241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families 433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of [563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953. [124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some [123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

MOSOCO

Fams.	Maize				Wheat			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.°	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0
3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60,0
4.	44	39	5	11,3	12	4	8	66,6
5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1,5	8,5	85,0
6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84,9
8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100,0
9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100,0
10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33,3
12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75,0
16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	25	23	2	8,0	9	9	...	.....
20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80,0
21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60,0
22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91,1
24.	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80,0
25.°	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.°	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....
4.°	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100,0
6.	80	80	...	.....	5	.(2)	5	100,0
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

2. Loss of the harvest.

MOSOCO

Farms.	Broad Beans				Garlic			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	80	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

MOSOCO

Fams.	Ullucos				Nasturtium			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
244 1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
● 433 2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
439 3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
563 4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53,3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	.....	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25,0	...	...	...	.....
25.●	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LA ME

1.●	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.●	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40,0	25	17	8	32,0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100,0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Frijoles A	C	V	%	Potatoes A	C	V	%
244 1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
433 2.	15	15	1	.....				
439 3.	...	...	...	.....				
563 4.	6	...	6	100,0				
5.	...	...	...	.....				
6.	...	...	...	.....				
7.	...	...	...	.....				
8.	...	...	...	.....				
9.	...	...	...	.....				
10.	...	...	...	.....				
11.	...	...	...	.....				
12.	...	...	...	.....				
13.	...	...	...	.....				
14.	...	...	...	.....				
15.	...	...	...	.....				
16.	...	...	...	.....				
17.	...	...	...	.....				
18.	5	5	...	.....				
19.	1	1	...	.....				
20.	4	4	...	.....				
21.	...	...	...	.....				
22.	6	6	...	.....				
23.	...	...	...	.....				
24.	...	...	...	.....				
25.*	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

1.*	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

241
●433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

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SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

6: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

SAN ANDRES

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Fams.	Maize				Manioc			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	53	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	14	4	10	71,6	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future harvest.

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Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

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●433
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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

241
433 From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale.
[434] It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income
[439] for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize,
[276] plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee
[273] harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

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● 433
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6: Bernal Villa--68 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Average Distribution of Crops per Family

Parcialidad	Maize				Wheat				Broad Beans				Garlic			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P		%
Mosoco	550	22	120	21,8	392	15	15	3,5	140	5	80	57,1	72	3	—	—
Lamo	348	21	30	12,1	30	3	—	—	16	2	—	—	3	—	—	—
	Ullucos				Nasturtium				Frijoles				Potatoes			
Mosoco	187	7	—	—	136	5	—	—	43	1	6	13,9	4.300	172	865	20,0
Lamo	35	3	—	—	35	3	—	—	37	3	—	—	138	17	70	50,7
	Coffee				Plantains (27)				Maize				Frijoles			
San Andrés	254	17	174	68,5	2050	136	680	33,1	327	22	90	27,5	40	3	—	—
	Manioc				Arracacha											
San Andrés	1.849	123	1.200	64,8	183	12	40	21,8								

Note: T indicates the total arrobas produced by the family investigated.

P, the average number of arrobas for each one of these families.

B, the arrobas produced by the "whites," and %, the percentage that the latter produce in relation to the totals indicated.

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

27. The figures indicate the number of plantain trees producing.

/343/

241
433 Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their respective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13 [249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

462 From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /frĭjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /frĭjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup